SEPTEMBER, 1956

New South

THE PRESS LOOKS AT CLINTON RIOTING

THE "NEW NEGRO" IN TALLAHASSEE

William Gordon

THE RIGHT OF DISSENT

Jack O' Dowd

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New South NOTES

As *New South* goes to press, all is quiet after rioting in Clinton, Tennessee, and the orderly processes of democracy apparently are beginning to work in the community. As the desegregation process moves closer to the deep South, rabid pro-segregationists begin to read the handwriting on the wall. These extremists cannot, if people are to continue listening to them, allow integration to gain a foothold so near the deep South.

Thus, professional bigots from outside the city and state attempted to stop integration procedures. As the Tennessee press reports point out, it was generally outsiders who caused the trouble. Clinton residents, although not enthusiastic supporters of integration, are, we are told by editorials reprinted elsewhere in this issue, law abiding citizens.

New South also brings you an up-to-date report of the resistance movement in Tallahassee, Florida, against segregated bus seating. William Gordon, managing editor of the *Atlanta Daily World*, gives a clear picture of the bus protest and the "new Negro."

Rounding out the issue, is a reprint of a speech by Jack O'Dowd, former editor of the *Florence Morning News*. Mr. O'Dowd outlines what he calls the right and duty of dissent by honest persons who are concerned with the segregation problem. Mr. O'Dowd carried out these principles although doing so cost him his job.

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The Press Looks at Clinton Rioting

The Clinton Courier

We have never heard anyone in Clinton say he wanted the integration of students in the schools, but we have heard a great many of the people say: "We believe in the law. We will obey the ruling of the court. We have no other lawful choice . . ."

This country of ours was founded upon the Constitution — and John Kaspar would have you throw away the Constitution. He calls others Communists, but he is using the very same tactics they use, and the end result of his efforts — should they be successful — would be mob rule, and that is just what the Communists would like, too.

The Knoxville News-Sentinel

A few rabble-rousers, some of them from out of the state, have managed to incite hot-headed citizens in and around Clinton into mob action that has brought nationwide shame on the community.

There must not be any more of such outrages.

All these disgraceful incidents might have been prevented if law enforcement agencies had taken more prompt action. That first mob which gathered . . . should have been broken up in its incipiency, even if it had required a tear gas bomb or two. The state trooper who is regularly stationed in that area was noticeably absent Friday evening, although there was a high school football game and ordinarily state troopers help move the traffic after such events.

Fortunately, the governor mobilized the National Guard elements before any blood was spilled.

The Clarkesville Leaf-Chronicle

If the racial question is to be settled amicably and justly it must be done with common sense and a desire on the part of all to be just and fair. Agitators only appeal to emotions, prejudice and recklessness. Inflamed emotions unseat reason and murder tolerance.

The Chattanooga Times

As was said from the church pulpits of Clinton, Tennessee . . . the issue there has shifted from one of compliance with a decision of the Supreme

(*Continued on page* 12)

By WILLIAM GORDON

The New Negro and the Tallahassee Protest

"They put us off the buses," he said. "We didn't get off; they forced us off."

This was the Rev. Charles K. Steele, and he was speaking about the Negro protest against the bus company in Tallahassee, Florida. The Rev. Mr. Steele is acknowledged leader of the Florida movement aimed at breaking down segregation on buses.

Since this article was written, 10 *of the Tallahassee car pool drivers have been arrested on charges of operating a car pool without proper licenses. Their trials are pending. Meanwhile, although the manager of the bus company claims that patronage is "picking up," he says that business is still* 40 *per cent lower than at this time last year.*

Since the Rev. Mr. Steele spoke these words, resistance has taken a turn similar to the now-famous boycott in Montgomery, Alabama. City officials now are attempting to force Negroes to ride the buses.

It was mid-July when I visited Tallahassee to learn the details of resistance against the bus company. At a mass meeting in a Negro church, Mr. Steele told the audience, "We are not telling you not to ride the buses. We are leading no boycott. We are only protesting against injustice, segregation, discrimination, and bigotry. We are Americans and we want to be treated as such."

The audience, a revelation in itself, stood, cheered, and sang. There were cooks, maids, janitors, nurses, laborers, and professional people. The old, the young, the crippled, the mothers with babes in their arms; all of them were there. These people have two things in common: they are Negroes and they are "sick" of segregation. That evening their voices rang unanimously in pro-

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test of treatment on the segregated buses of Tallahassee.

It was this type of demonstration that had been so effective in stopping bus transportation in the city following the initial incident.

Earlier, Broadus Hartley, Jr., student leader at Florida A. and M. College, told me what had happened.

Students and townspeople learned that two Negro girls had entered one of the city buses near the campus and had taken the only empty seat available. This seat was near the driver and usually is reserved for whites. When the students sat down, the driver asked them to move. The driver then refused to return their money when they requested it. When they protested, the driver called the police and they were arrested.

Hartley said that the two co-eds were quickly released on bond and that later the case was dismissed. But the damage had been done. The word quickly spread through the Negro community that two students had been arrested after they spoke out against segregation, and the initial protest began.

Cross Burned

The following evening, Hartley said, a cross was burned in the front yard of the home where the co-eds lived. Police were called, and school officials quickly moved the girls to a dormitory on the campus.

Some people expected the cross-burning incident to incite fear among the Negroes and to end all efforts of protest. Instead, the burning cross kindled an all-out protest against segregation in Tallahassee.

"There was no organized effort by students," Hartley said. "We were just a group of students concerned about the treatment of two of their race. There was no racial feeling, however. We talked about the incident as we talked about any other situation."

Other Incidents

"There had been other incidents before this one," Hartley continued. "Students had been asked to get up or get off the bus and let white people sit down. Most students did not say anything about the incidents. They just passed them off as bad days."

Although there is definite sympathy by students and others at the college, interviews on the campus failed to produce any evidence that faculty members were or are back of this movement. A young Negro minister on the faculty said that the city commission, having exhausted every other possible means to get at the heart of the protest movement, had attempted to link the movement to some of the university faculty members and their wives. Most of the faculty members have their own cars, however, and seldom rode the buses even before the boycott. Indeed, some criticism has been leveled at faculty members by leaders of the protest. One minister referred to school officials as "the people on the hill, the ivory tower lot who fail to believe that we all are in the same sack."

"There is one thing certain," the young minister said. "Conditions have changed vastly since I was a student here. There is more courtesy from whites toward Negroes. We get along better in the city where we shop. Whether some will admit it or not, the feeling is vastly different since the protest began."

Students said, however, that despite the protest, white reaction generally has not been too negative. They recall only one outstanding incident. The operator

of a service station, located about four blocks from the campus, said he wanted no more "n----r" business.

There is fear that economic reprisals may eventually spread to other segments of the white business community, and officials have already admitted that loss of Negro bus patronage means $100,000 less a year to the company.

Economic Fear

Evidence that white business people are anxious to forestall the spread of economic reprisal can best be shown by the reaction of the white manager of the lone Negro theater in town. During the showing of a very popular film, the movie was stopped and the lights came up. A voice from the loud speakers told patrons:

"I want you to know that we appreciate your trade, always have, and always will. I want you to know that the management of this theater is not back of any movement to segregate or restrict Negroes."

Jewish merchants also protested to city officials after police began ordering Negroes to move from the front of Jewish stores where they customarily congregated when shopping. Since the merchant protest, customers have not been bothered.

Reaction of city officials, however, has been one of intimidation. This is indicated by the incident of police intimidation of customers. Negro motorists also have reported arrests by police officers for minor traffic violations such as driving slightly across the center line or exceeding the speed limit very slightly. City officials have been sharply criticized for employing such methods.

One young white man told me: "The feeling of young whites around Tallahassee is quite different from the commission's point of view." He thought the commissioners were being stupid at their own cost.

Negro people also told me that the attitude of young white people in the city was extremely good prior to the protest, and many believe that basically this feeling has not altered.

A young Negro told me that it was common practice for the two universities to exchange visits prior to the protest movement. "Those interested in medicine, music, dramas and similar matters would share their views," he said.

Although these visits have stopped, one gets the impression that this is only a matter of expediency rather than white resentment because of the protest. Many white persons express this feeling whenever they can talk without fear of reprisal or ridicule.

Some white persons expressed concern about the division between the white and Negro population in Tallahassee. Malcolm Johnson, editor of the *Tallahassee Democrat,* the city's only daily newspaper, was one of these.

Johnson is an unusually friendly man with a genuine liberal outlook. Civic-minded, busy, alert on issues, he is the kind of person journalists call a good newspaperman.

Proposal

"I'm sorry that they didn't take it," he said. "I admit my ignorance of the Negro community, but I do think they should have taken this proposition."

Johnson was speaking of the proposal made by the city commission and the bus company which had not been accepted by the Negro group. The proposal was to set aside a seat for whites at the front of the bus. Negroes were to be allowed to sit anywhere on the bus

with the exception of this one seat. The bus company also had agreed to employ Negro drivers on the predominantly Negro lines.

"If they had taken it," Mr. Johnson said, "segregation would have gone automatically. This was getting one foot in the door."

But it was the lack of communications between the white and Negro citizens that disturbed Johnson most of all. His chief fear was what political extremists might do with the race issue. Admitting that many things, such as discrimination in employment, public facilities, and in other areas, were annoying even to many white people, he said the city was badly in need of leadership, both white and Negro, which could arrive at some solution to the problem.

Johnson, like other liberal white persons, wants to solve the race problem but fails to get at the depth of the feeling of Negroes and their protest against segregation.

A visit to the main station of the "car pool" points up the Negro desire for complete equality now rather than in that dim and distant future.

Car Pool

The central station of the car pool is at Speed's Market, and there are 16 pick-up points in the city. The owner of the market spends his time, between waiting on customers, in answering the telephone and dispatching drivers.

"We have sixteen stations scattered throughout the city," he said, "in order to make it easier to cover a wide area and give better service."

Heading the transportation pool is almost a full-time job in itself, yet the market owner and the volunteer drivers get no pay. Ministers divide their time, working as drivers when their church work permits. Some of the drivers said, "It is our little contribution to the fight against segregation." The market owner said that the drivers make periodic stops at the 16 stations and then scatter about the city on the lookout for pedestrians going to work.

Employers

Time, of course, is an important element. Most of the people involved in the protest are workers who customarily operate on a strict work schedule. What of employers of these people, most of whom are domestics or factory workers?

"They don't talk about the buses anymore," one woman said. "They don't even complain about my being late. They give me my same pay and sometimes take me home in the afternoon."

"My boss lady comes to pick me up occasionally," another said, "and she even gives me taxi fare home if I have to work late."

The protest has picked up strength almost daily. Many of the protesters talked of the times when they knew what it was to be hungry, without clothes and other necessities. Some had gone to jail for minor offenses, but they did not seem to fear jail anymore. They all are bent on doing away with segregation.

One woman said, "I'll never put my foot into another bus again . . . that is I'll never put my foot in one that's segregated."

"These bus drivers have been a nasty lot," another woman said, as others told of deliberate insults by motormen.

There had been many instances when Negroes had to stand until white people boarded the bus. Then as Negro passengers pushed their ways back through the crowded bus, they often were har-

assed by white passengers. When Negroes protested, the police were called and often the protesting Negro would be arrested and jailed for distrurbance.

Negroes in Tallahassee are bent on ending segregation, not only on the bus but in other areas, and there exists little margin for compromise. They are looking directly at the law and no point short of their rights will be satisfactory.

This puzzles many of the white liberals in the city who feel that, since the Negro has come a long way, he should be content with a limited step toward equality for the present.

A young, white sociologist described the situation this way:

"There is one basic factor that whites seem to overlook. There's a new Negro in the South. He is not the compromising Negro of a decade or two ago. The new Negro looks at the law and at the ideals of the United States Constitution. He's pressing the white man to live up to these ideals."

The "new Negro" also is looking at the future of his children. Many of the people at the motor pool have children. They want a better chance for their children than they have had. They take pride in the work they are doing and think that their children will get a better chance, even in the Southland.

Communications

The sociologist also talked about the lack of communication between the white and Negro community. The greatest danger from limited communication, he said, is the perpetuation of the stereotype Negro. He feared that ideas of the stereotype Negro will be extended in the white community unless communication barriers are broken down very soon.

The failure to understand that Negroes are entitled to full, not partial, equality has completely stymied the city commission in any attempt to solve the protest movement.

When Negroes would not accept the proposed solution to the movement, Tallahassee, as Montgomery, Alabama, began a "get tough" policy much greater than the earlier harassing incidents.

Negro Drivers

Although the bus company hired Negro drivers in the predominantly Negro areas, Negroes still largely refused to ride the buses.

Now the commission seems determined to break the boycott by intimidation. Several drivers for the motor pool have been arrested and fined as much as $100. Negro drivers have been stopped, humiliated, and arrested if they "don't talk straight to the police."

Persons who are not particularly connected with the car pools also are subjected to intimidation. Recently a Negro man had to post a $100 appearance bond. The man was on his way to work. His wife and a neighbor, his only passengers, were to be dropped off at a dentist's office.

This intimidation, again as in Montgomery, has only served to strengthen the boycott. The bus company recently announced that if more people do not ride, it will be forced to close down again — this time with the expectation of going out of business.

Recent reports indicate that, although fewer persons have taken advantage of the car pools, they are still staying off the buses. Employers reportedly also are feeling the "pinch" and are coming to pick up their employees.

From all indications, the sociologist is right. There is a "new Negro" in Tallahassee, Montgomery, and the rest of the South.

By JACK O'DOWD

The Right Of Dissent

I am not here to discuss segregation vs. desegregation, important as that is. Something of even greater importance is what the sentiment concomitant to the Supreme Court's decision is doing to the Southland.

My comments will concern what is happening to our section, our people, our ideals and the freedoms the more ardent pro-segregationists say they are defending.

I, personally, think segregation is morally indefensible. If the honest, the sincere, the just and the public spirited want to debate this great issue on the basis of expediency, then there is room for argument and collective progress.

Jack O'Dowd is the former editor of the Florence, S. C., MORNING NEWS. *Since Editor O'Dowd made this speech before the Hartsville, S. C., Rotary Club early in May of this year, he has had to leave the Florence paper. His moving was forced by advertisers and readers of the Florence paper who have no room in their lives for people who honestly and courageously dissent from the majority opinion. Mr. O'Dowd now is with the Chicago* SUN-TIMES.

I am not here as a pro-integrationist. You can say that I am here as an anti-pro-segregationist. I am here to say that the nature of the opposition to the Supreme Court has almost reached the tenor that characterized Southern thinking and acting just before cadets from the Citadel fired on the ship, the Star of the West.

Last June 17, The Morning News ran an editorial entitled "We Can't Win." It expressed the opinion that eventually the Supreme Court's decision would be law in South Carolina. It said that the South is a minority section and will receive minority consideration. It said the decision to be made was not *if* we will yield, but *when*. The decision, it said, is to be limited to cost and time. We can't determine the eventual outcome — we can only set the price to be paid.

This, I believe, is true.

But whether it is true or not, whether opposition is to be a delaying action or

a march toward victory isn't as much at issue as is the nature of the opposition. For the sake of academic argument, let's assume that the South's opposition gains victory. If everything fine in the South is to be destroyed in the name of segregation, what has been won? If we must destroy the South in order to preserve a social pattern of no positive value, what has been accomplished?

My hope in this matter is that the argument is not an absolute and that there is still room for debate. The South *is not* welded into a cry, a cause, a flaming sword that will destroy itself rather than admit of modification.

Which ever way the South goes in the difficult tomorrows facing us can only be determined properly if it is determined by people such as you. The leadership of the South is being placed in new — and untested — hands because the historic leadership of our section has done nothing of positive value in the present crisis.

Because the traditional leadership of our section has allowed itself to become intimidated, the new "leaders" have led us into strange paths. Paths that are dangerous and paths that — again — threaten to destroy the freedoms these latter-day "leaders" say they are fighting to preserve.

Opposition

Let's look at the nature of the opposition; the dangers of the opposition; the character of the opposition; and what should be done. The suggestions for remedial action should be of special interest to you. You know whether or not you have been exerting positive leadership in this grave crisis. If you haven't, the suggested remedies will at least remind you that there is a need here for honest leadership.

The nature of the opposition has been absolute. A few hours after the Supreme Court announced its decision on that May 17, the cry went up from South Carolina and Georgia capitols, and from Southern Senate and Congressional offices in Washington — "We will never consent. We will resist to the end. We will never mix. The Supreme Court cannot force us to desegregate."

States Rights

The nature of the opposition has centered around the theme of States Rights. States Rights is a good cry. And, as G. B. Shaw says, "A good cry is half the battle." Everyone interested in the preservation of the Constitution is interested in States Rights. The rights of the several states must remain inviolate if the republic is to remain strong and to operate within the framework of the Constitution. But loyalty to the idea of States Rights does not demand a loyalty to the abuses of the cry or to the sins committed in its name. To say that the South is defending segregation because the South is interested in States Rights is to construct a defense and opposition on a framework of lies. The South is defending segregation because the South likes segregation. The defense is not properly made in the name of States Rights.

T. S. Elliot had a line in his play, "Murder in the Cathedral," that would best describe this attitude — "The last temptation is the greatest treason, to do the right deed for the wrong reason." "A battle for States Rights is proper, but segregation isn't a good battle ground for a holy crusade.

Southerners can't expect the idea of states rights to be an acceptable battle cry, or legal defense, when they equate

states rights with segregation. Ask the average — or superior — Southerner the meaning of the term "States Rights" and he will give you a pro-segregation answer.

Even the magical cry of states rights is not enough to convince may of us in the South that law and equality under law can mean one thing in one section of the country and something quite different in another section. Any political devise that can serve to make one man less a citizen than another, or give him less opportunity than another is, or should be, considered politically immoral.

With our interpretation of States Rights, we are trying to tell the world that our Constitutional Democracy means — All men are equal; but, some are less equal than others.

And the nature of this opposition is less a matter of states rights than an attempted return toward state sovereignty. It was established in the 1860's that states did not have negative powers. Calhoun's beautiful theories of legal rejection through non-concurrence were demonstrated to be unacceptable to the nation.

They are no less unacceptable today.

Character

But, we need to be more concerned with the character of the opposition. This concern should stem from the fact that each day sees the opposition demonstrating less character.

I am not as interested in starting a movement toward compliance with the court as I am in restraining those who threaten absolute non-compliance with the court or the accepted establishments of society.

I argue for the right of reasonable dissent. Because of the hanging back of decent men of character, it is almost impossible to describe the Supreme Court as a legal body with a voice of authority. Our Southland is becoming a place where non-concurrence with the established orthodoxy is cause for rejection and social ostracism. I will not burden you with a recitation of my trials and tribulations, but fear, hate and mistrust are turning the South into a section that will not entertain an idea modifying what is mistakeningly called the traditional.

Loyalty to South

I am a loyal American and a proud Southerner. Despite prevailing opinions, the terms are not mutually exclusive. Loyalty to the South does not require a defense of its faults and anachronisms. Yet the opposition to the court's decision we have let develop will not admit that honorable men can have thoughts allowing for one set of laws for all men. The character of the opposition leads one to believe that the pledge of allegiance to the flag of the United States of American is an act of treason and sedition.

This opposition is based on political advantage, fear, hate, ignorance and bigotry. This opposition has led men in high political office to preach something akin to revolution. They have promised that we will resist to the end. They don't say what end. These politicians have said we will never yield. They do not describe the extreme of opposition they personally are willing to embrace.

Fear and ignorance are two of the greatest threats to peace and order. They are almost as dangerous as the abdication of leadership demonstrated by the men who should be setting the ex-

amples for our citizens. This fear and ignorance finds its greatest expression in the sex angle. Of course there is something Freudian in this preoccupation with the sexual possibilities of the Court's decision. The Supreme Court has given phallic worship its greatest impetus since the Greek's tore down the grandfather to the May pole.

This miscegenation scare is an emotional argument that should be rejected by every sensible person. You don't say much for the integrity of either race when you say that all that is keeping the races apart is law. Statistics prove that from a percentage standpoint, miscegenation is decreasing — not increasing.

The character of the opposition has bred violence, hatred, and has created a wide gulf between our races.

Our section is seeing a revival of the Ku Klux Klan. Our section is watching the growth of the up-town white supremists known as the White Citizens Councils.

This last organization presents, in a way, the greatest danger to our society.

These organizations have grown and taken over leadership largely through a sort of paralysis in the field of social responsibility demonstrated by our civic leaders.

Paralysis

Here is a concrete example.

When the Citizen's Council was formed in Florence a small group named some thirty men to a steering committee and published their names.

More than a dozen of these men swore their names were used without their knowledge, without their consent, and that they did not want their names used in connection with this organization.

We published an editorial saying that some names were used without permission, and that the organization certainly would not want to create any false impressions. We invited those who wanted to disassociate themselves — for the time being — from the organization to come by and indicate their desire to have their names removed from the list of the committee — without prejudice. Not a one came by. It could then be assumed by the community that all of these men were in sympathy with the organization, although they said in private they wanted nothing to do with it.

Cole Assault

Nat King Cole was assaulted in Alabama by members of Citizen's Councils. It isn't expected that the proper gentlemen who populate Citizen's Councils here will lynch any colored folk. Yet, these Councils germinate the seeds of hate that built Klan membership. Anti-semites didn't approve of Belsen or Buchenwald, yet the atmosphere they helped create made these inhumanities possible. The Citizen's Councils won't embrace violence, but when they tell society that we don't have to obey the law, others find encouragement and excuse for breaking the law. Intellectual opposition by some is easily translated into physical action by others.

The dangers present in the opposition are, or should be, apparent. One of the most obvious and most serious can be seen in the incident of the silent men described a moment ago. These men who would not disclaim — even conditionally — affiliation with the Citizen's Council were intimidated. The negative philosophy pervading much of the South deals in absolutes. These men were afraid that by saying they had not given their blessing to this unknown

organization would be thought of as saying they were in favor of integration. Guilt through disassociation!

Extend Freedom

This land-of-freedom lovers should learn to extend freedoms to all members of society. We should let the democratic rights extend even to those with whom we do not agree.

The right of dissent should be precious to us. The right is one being denied many people who seek only the best interests of society and the advancement of this section.

When people cannot disagree in good faith, fear has replaced conviction and concern. Many of those who would preserve the pattern of segregation, as it is, are evidently letting fear and hate direct their actions and utterances. Honest disagreement does not require slander, vituperation, reprisals, or social rupture.

A very real and present danger in our society is that we will sacrifice progress, pleasantness, law, order, love and sectional honor in a fight to preserve something of negative value.

If you think I am wrong, look at the last session of our General Assembly. It was a "thou shalt not" session. Everything that we do or plan is being colored by the colored problem.

Our society is destroying itself by what I like to call the Elephant-Question-Psychology.

Once in a metropolitan area there was a college zoology class. The professor asked the class to write an essay on the elephant. The Englishman, of course, wrote an essay entitled, "The Elephant; How to Hunt Him." The economy-minded German's essay was entitled, "The Elephant; Is It Edible?" The French boy, quite naturally, wrote on "The Sex Life of the Elephant." The Russian boy hadn't gotten the party line on the issue so his essay was entitled, "The Elephant; Does It Exist?" The Polish boy from Warsaw wrote, "The Elephant and the Polish Question."

We are much like the Polish boy.

Our philosophy is becoming negative. We are not moving forward, we are limping along in the rear of the parade of national advancement. The danger of the opposition is the danger of self-destruction, and self-debasement.

This brings us to the final point for consideration. What should be done in this land of ours. First, there should be an end made to extremism. Extremism, of course, is a two edged sword. I have not talked about the evils on the other side of the question because my concern here this afternoon is what the opposition to the court is doing to the South.

End Extremism

The end to extremism should include an end to political utterances that wave the flag of secession and promise that we will never yield. We should not tolerate political and other public declarations that equate respect for the court with communism or anarchy. When a Senator, for example, would have us think the nine justices are without honor, reason, ability or patriotism, remind him and yourself that each justice sits on the bench because he was voted to that position by the Senate of the United States.

If you think the Senate doesn't have the power to keep an appointee off the

bench, check Judge Parker of the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals.

Let's keep our fairness. Let's be men of reason. Let us all exercise all the leadership expected of us.

I have purposely avoided any discussion of the religious significance of the question. That is for ministers. They should do it. They must do it. And, they should be heard with respect. We can't expect ministers to limit their applications of Christianity to the areas that are not personally uncomfortable.

While I will not discuss the religious significance of the question, I will give you a biblical admonition that each man of honor must accept and employ. It is from the Book of Micha: "And what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God."

The man who can tell himself in truth that he is doing justly, extending mercy and keeping himself at perfect peace with God will help bring this section out of its turmoil.

The man who can give an ear and understanding to the divisions of opinion, the man who can seek the honest and honorable solution in place of the comfortable and traditional solution is the man who will help return honor and respect to the Southland.

You can start by defending the right of dissent. You can remember that our peoples and our section can go forward only by working together. You can remember that you have a responsibility to yourself and your society — not to mention your God — to make your life a positive influence. You have not only the right, but the obligation to speak out in defense of honor, truth, and reason. This is your individual problem, whether you find it uncomfortable or not.

The Press and Clinton

(*Continued from page* 1)

Court against racial discrimination in the public schools to one of compliance with basic law and order . . .

The speech (by an outsider) which brought law enforcement in the little town 17 miles from Knoxville to its knees . . . dealt neither with the fact that Clinton High School was the first Tennessee-supported school to enroll Negro students nor with the school problems at all. It was sheer white supremacy.

The chaos which followed was produced by those, it is to be supposed, who thought of little else but giving way to blind prejudice. The mass of them, by all accounts from distant plaoes, may never have heard of Clinton, Tennessee until very recently . . .

The maintenance of order . . . was essential and crucial. The assistance provided by the state could have come more quickly. But as Governor Clement said . . ., never in his three and a half years in office has such an action been necessary. . . .

With all its fearful implications the Clinton tragedy has its aspects of hope. The issues have been more tensely drawn. But the principal at Clinton, the Anderson County school board, the city officials and all of the Clintonians except an inevitable fringe have shown important courage . . .

We trust and we believe that at Clinton, and in Tennessee, beneath the tumult, there is a reservoir of faith in the injunction to any society: that we respect one another.

. . . Unquote

Noteworthy quotes from the press and periodicals

"Negroes have been attempting to get into the University of Alabama for the past four years, the University of Georgia Law School for the past six, and the University of Florida Law School for the past seven. None have been admitted. In the words of Dr. Ralph Bunche, who recently spoke in Montgomery, Ala., 'If this is moving too fast, I wonder what standing still is?'"—From the Newsletter of the Alabama Council on Human Relations.

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"It is hard to believe that a great sovereign state in the world's finest democracy has decided to appeal to the courts to try to enlist support for its un-Christian determination to force segregation upon Negroes in public conveyances."—Wilbur LaRoe in the *Presbyterian Outlook.*

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"Sweeping throughout the world . . . is a belief in the dignity of man and the worth of every individual. That system of government, and only that system of government, will long endure which guarantees under law to every man the right to achieve human dignity and individual worth through his own efforts, and education and religion and democracy are the chief means to that end . . . Today, as never before, men everywhere are filled with the desire to improve their lot and to be somebody within the limits of their capacity, and they are insisting upon the fulfillment of that desire as a right under law . . . To live with our consciences, we must be willing to let others live up to the rights given them by law. Wisdom, virtue and goodwill are just as essential as military and economic might to the survival of the United States."—Irving Carlyle in a speech before the Carrboro, N. C., Ministerial Association.

"Since Christians are constrained to do justice and love mercy, we acknowledge our responsibility as a church to provide guidance for our members to work in the capacity of Christian citizens for the elimination of discrimination where ever it may exist, in community, city, state, nation and world."—The Lutheran Church, Missouri Synod.

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"We are on trial . . . to see if we shall continue to put convenience above justice, comfort above right, preference above law, pride above duty. Strangely, we know we shall one day cease to do these things — if not soon, on the level of willingness, then later, out of compulsion. Whatever guilt is confessed or denied, whatever wrongs are righted or repeated, whatever sentences are imposed or whatever fines assessed, we shall in the end pay all the indemnities, serve all the sentences, suffer all the injustices — we, the people."—R. Orin Cornett in the Christian Life Bulletin.

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"It is sometimes said that school integration presents new and difficult problems. Problems are nothing new to a parochial school teacher. We had them yesterday, we have them today, and we will have them as long as our schools are made up of groups of children learning how to study, pray, work and play together . . . We do not believe that the problems of an integrated Catholic school are any different in kind, degree or number, from those with which we are daily and successfully coping . . . If in a segregated school we can handle the problems rising from youthful personalities and adult parents, we can handle them also in an integrated school."—Sister Jane Frances, M. S. C., Saint Rita School, New Orleans, La.